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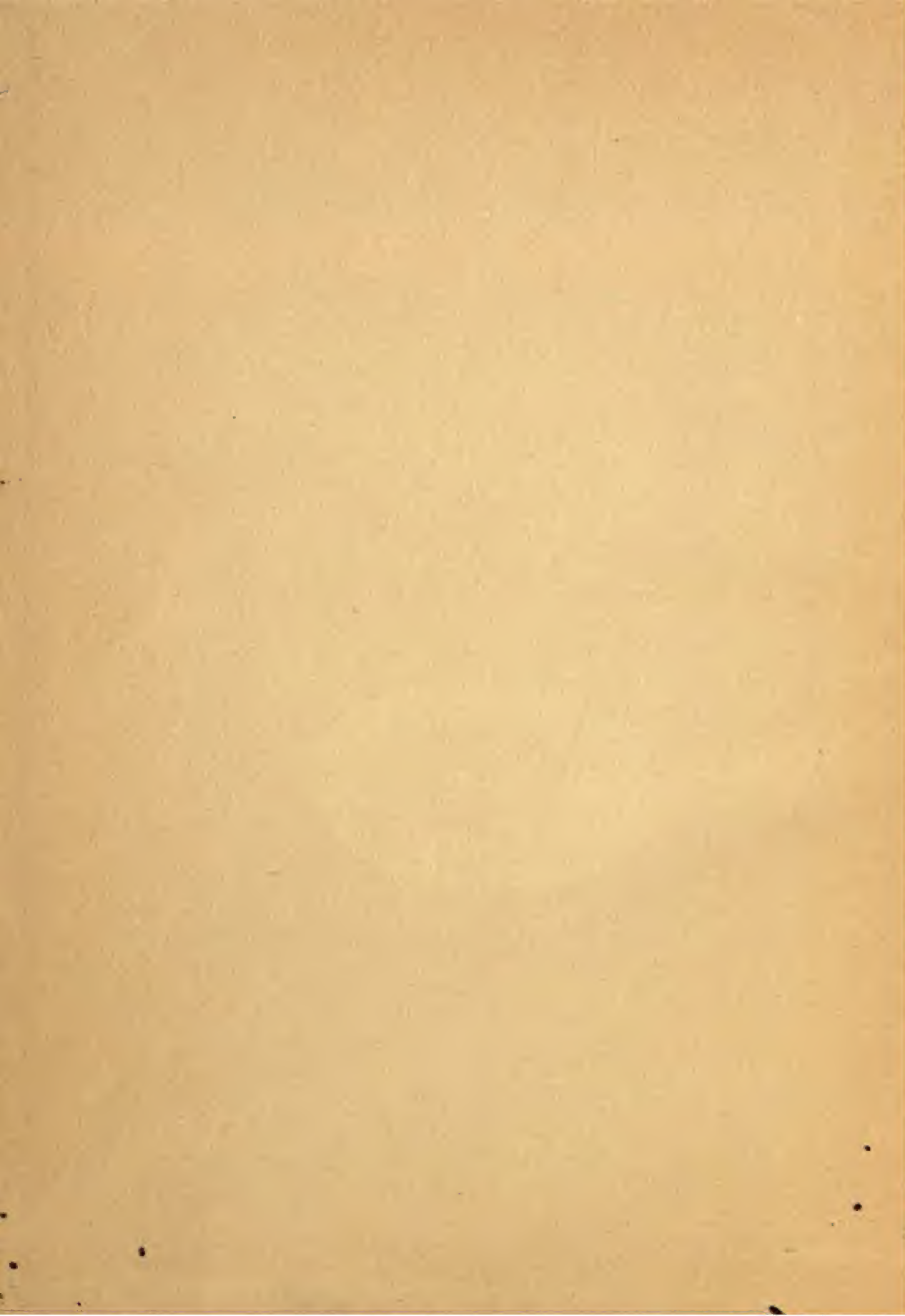
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INDIAN INFLUENCES IN OLD-BALINESE ART





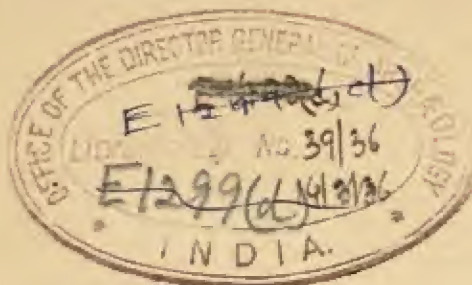
INDIAN INFLUENCES IN OLD-BALINESE ART

BY

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PREFACE

THE illustrations in this book are made from photographs of the Archæological Service of the Netherlands East Indies, and are part of the series reproduced in *Oudheden van Bali*, by the writer, published by the Kirtya Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk (Singaradja, Bali). Further reproductions of Balinese antiquities may be found in *Oudheidkundige Verslagen* (Batavia, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1925), in *Nederlandsch Indie Oud en Nieuw* (Amsterdam, 1925, 1926), in *Mededeelingen* of the Kirtya Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk (Singaradja, Bali, vols. i, ii), in *Acta Orientalia* (Leiden, vol. xii), etc.

The author desires to record his thanks to the India Society for their invitation to contribute this volume to its fine series of publications, and to the Kirtya Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk for placing at his disposal the clichés of the selected photographs.



INTRODUCTION

THE island of Bali, some of whose antiquities will be discussed in the following pages, hardly needs any introduction to the reader of to-day. As ever, it would also be difficult to refrain from high-sounding hymns of praise to this little island, blessed with most of the beauties of the East, and to the lovability, artistic qualities, and harmonious nature of its inhabitants. Leaving this to those whose pen is willing to help to advertise the purely æsthetic enjoyment of the island, I would rather acquaint the reader, by way of introduction, with what has been done so far for the scientific knowledge of the island and for the better understanding of its culture.

The discovery of Bali's beauty, revealed to Holland in word and picture by the Dutch painter Nieuwenkamp, and to the rest of the Western world through the numerous photographs published by the German physician Dr. Krause, was followed by a world-wide pilgrimage to the island. Before long a trip to Bali became an indispensable attraction in the programmes of travel-bureaux, and to-day no round-the-world trip is complete without at least twenty-four hours spent in a motor-car in Bali. Unfortunately, the scientific study of the island could not progress at a similar pace.

After the Netherlands East Indies Government had, in the middle of last century, made the northern part of the island into a directly administered territory, a special scholar, Dr. H. Neubronner-van der Tuuk, was appointed there in 1874 and charged with the study of Bali's language and literature, the importance of which for the study of old Java had already been pointed out by Sir Stamford Raffles. After years of persistent labour, and with the help of literate Balinese, a voluminous dictionary came into existence, a thesaurus which is up to the present the basis for all scientific study

of Bali. It is a key not only to contemporary Bali, but also to its old literature, as well as to that of its neighbour Java—a literature whose material was in greater part borrowed from the Hindus, but was completely transformed into a purely national possession.

While the study of the literature alone was already a life's work, the discovery of historical documents, in the form of charters engraved on copper plates, multiplied the gathered material to such an extent, that only a considerable staff of experts could have mastered the task within a limited time. Dozens of such charters, most of which may be compared with our mediæval deeds of land, were collected in 1919, and partly published later by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels. But this was not all.

Earlier explorers of Bali had here and there encountered and reported antiquities of another kind—statues, monuments and fragments. And when in 1925 and the following years the writer was charged by the Netherlands Government to make a systematic exploration, the harvest in this field also exceeded all expectations.

The scientific interest of the Government could not be limited, however, to antiquities and literature. Soon, with the installation of Netherlands administration over the whole island, it appeared that Balinese society represented such a peculiar and indissoluble combination of old indigenous and Hindu elements, that a thorough study of the '*ādāt*,¹ as well as of the existing religion, was deemed absolutely necessary in order to work out a suitable system of administration. The Government entrusted the first task to Dr. V. Korn and the second to Dr. R. Goris.

This good example brought further beneficial consequences, namely, the realization of a plan conceived by the Dutch resident Caron: the foundation (in 1928) of a central library for Balinese literary works, and for a centre of study for literate Balinese, which

¹ '*Ādāt*, the social institutions based on old indigenous customs which remained in force partly above and partly next to the Hindu law books. The word is Arabic, but is used by scholars for all parts of the Archipelago.

was received by them with great enthusiasm and has been kept up with the same enthusiasm to the present day. It is called the "Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk," located in Singaradja, thereby honouring the names of two of Bali's greatest scholars of the past.

And, finally, it is very gratifying to see that my idea of a museum for collections of different objects of historical, cultural and æsthetic value, no longer used in daily life by the people, and threatened by destruction (their export being prohibited in addition), has also been realized with the opening of the Bali museum in Den Pasar in 1931.

From all these cultural studies it appeared that Bali and its population represent an extremely interesting living document of the past, whose significance for science cannot easily be overestimated.¹ For here, indeed, continued to live, fused into an harmonious unity, at least two successive cultures. The first of these, rooted in the village communities and dating back to a prehistoric past, was by no means superseded by the second—the culture of Hinduistic kingdoms. Side by side, but inseparably connected, there subsisted in Bali for a long time villages next to the palaces of princes, each in need of the other and both supporting one harmonious social structure. And while the first might be considered superior in wisdom and better adapted to the land, climate and people, the second was the shielding power which had saved the old social order from destruction through exposure to the disturbing influences of the outer world.

This state of things found its reflection also in the creative art of the Balinese, and it is the aim of the following chapters to elucidate the particulars necessary for its understanding.

YOGYAKARTA,

May, 1934.

¹ As the names of the writers who in books and articles contributed valuable material toward the knowledge of Bali's culture are too numerous to be mentioned here, I have to confine myself to the official part of the research.



INDIAN INFLUENCES IN OLD-BALINESE ART

BALI BEFORE HINDUISM¹

Few nations should be able to understand better than the British how a culture may consist of two quite separate elements, which, nevertheless, are joined harmoniously in a whole. For no nation of Europe has managed to uphold with greater earnestness and perseverance the cultural ideals of the Romans, while respecting and perpetuating many customs rooted in local and very ancient ideas. Bali represents on a smaller scale a similar case.

Since those who have no knowledge of the old indigenous elements in the present and earlier culture of the island must of necessity misunderstand its essence, we shall try to exhibit in brief review some few points of Bali's oldest culture.

Though remains and data from pre-Hinduistic times in Bali are very scarce, it is still possible to reconstruct approximately the character of its early culture, mainly by analogy with related folks which have never known Hinduism.

Bali is inhabited by representatives of the Indonesian race, one of the members of the great Austronesian family (to which the Mundas of India belong), which was once at home in South-East Asia, and later spread over India and Further India. Therefore we may accept that before Hindu influences reached the island the culture of the Balinese was completely dominated by ancestor worship.

¹ Following the Netherlands custom, I use the term "Hinduism" as meaning the "culture of India" as it was brought to the Archipelago.

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Daily life was directed by the souls of the departed ancestors who were supposed to be dwelling in the mountains. It was they who lived on at the hidden sources of the rivers, without whose waters no rice would grow. They were the founders of the village communities; they had established its customs and cared for its growth. These ancestors also disposed of the sources of magic life-power, the power which caused not only the life of man, but also that of animals and plants, even of the community of men—the mysterious *fluidum* without which no welfare was possible.

But not everyone was blessed with the right amount of this life-power necessary for a happy existence—*i.e.*, a life not disturbed by misfortunes. Some had too little of it and slowly wasted away; some, again, had too much and were consequently destroyed too. And not everyone had the same capacity for being magically powerful, which meant that there were only few who could receive without danger great quantities of this magic life-power. They were either the very old ones, or the unusual—like the priests. Weak were children and the deformed.

Now those who were able to stand the high charge of magic power were the right persons to get into contact with the souls of the dead, to receive them temporarily into themselves, in order to replenish the waning store of the community's life-power, or to furnish it with extra strength. For, as has already been said, the village community possessed its own life-power—it was an organism as man himself, and could be sick (which was manifested by disasters, scarcity, etc.) or well off.

It was perceived that through many causes the balance, the right amount of life-power of the community, could be disturbed. Some of the causes were known, and some not to be discerned. Consequently, there was a complicated and extensive system of acts and interdictions evolved for the eventual restoration of the disturbed equilibrium. The development, improvement and application of this system was the task of the oldest members of the community, acting as priests,

and a survival of this system is the present '*ādāt*' comprising all the conceptions of laws and duties and social institutions of the various village communities.

The place where the sacred acts intended to maintain the life-power of the community were performed was the temple. It was a piece of ground surrounded by a wall for protection against unknown, and thus unmanageable, powers, on which special places were constructed as seats for the souls of the ancestors: upright stones for the male, and horizontal stones for the female souls. For the soul of the ancestor-founder of the tribe and community there was a whole pyramid built of stones. And lastly, the temple was provided with a stone-paved space for the ritual dances.

It was in these temple courts that the elders invoked the ancestors, bringing themselves into a state of trance by incense, rhythmic movements, chants or other means. This was often followed by ritual dances, which proved to the people that the soul of the invoked ancestor had taken possession of the body of the conjurer, whose actions and uttered words were then regarded as the actions and utterances of the ancestor. In awe the people knelt before the incarnations of the forefathers who had descended from the mountains and from the holy sources of the fertility-bringing rivers. For their presence alone was sufficient to provide the community with the absolutely necessary magic life-power; to further the growth of rice; to calm the devastating overflowing streams; to subdue epidemics afflicting the population.

It is therefore not surprising to find that the administration of the village community did not consist of administrative measures in our sense, but exclusively of functions connected with magic and ancestor worship. Its sole purpose was the preservation or re-establishment of the magic equilibrium and the prevention of possible disturbances. For this end several of the oldest members of the community, whose age was in itself a proof of their extraordinary life-power, formed a council. It was convoked once a

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month, at full moon, and with solemnity the elders consulted over all disturbances of the magic equilibrium, caused either by members of their own village or by causes outside of it. They gave the proper instructions as to how the balance might be restored—in most cases by magic means, and in extreme cases through the shedding of blood, which contained such a tremendous charge of life-power. In short, they were the "wise men"; and all they did was in agreement with the institutions of the forefathers, in constant reverence for the founders of the community with whom they were one body and one soul. No wonder, then, that all their actions were of a sacred nature.

In the above is given the main outline of what we may call the spiritual culture of the pre-Hinduistic Balinese. Their interests did not extend beyond the limits of their village community, or, where it became inevitable through growth and expansion into bordering villages, to a somewhat larger genealogical community whose members formed one organic body. There was no room for the individual. Just as no part of the human body can exist apart from the whole organism, so every Balinese was only a more or less important part of the communal body called "village." His property was the property of the community, his interests those of the community. His children were body and blood of the community, which had rights over them as future members of its organism. And therefore everyone's place was explicitly defined: the heart cannot fulfil the function of intestines, nor can the lungs be substituted by the liver. So was the son of a priest, priest by birth, and the son of a smith, smith.

But let us not digress into details. One more point, which will prove of the greatest importance in the development of Hinduistic art in Bali, requires our special consideration.

Although there are no remains to confirm it, we may conclude from comparison with similar customs practised by other, non-Hinduized, members of the Indonesian race, that in Bali there must

once have existed the custom of erecting stone or wooden figures for the deceased village heads or priests. These figures were simply elaborated and individualized specimens of the upright stones that have been mentioned. Like the latter, they were destined to serve as seats (receptacles) for the souls of the deceased whose likeness they were supposed to render.

At a certain time after death, when the decay of the deposited body had progressed so far that no flesh remained on the bones, it was considered the proper moment to erect such a figure. To this end the bones were collected and placed in an earthen jar, which was then deposited on the holy, magically dangerous ground outside the village—the death-field, which will play such an important rôle in Bali later. Then, with the slaughter of many buffaloes, whose blood would restore the loss in the community's life-power caused by the death of a village head, a big death-feast was held and the figure of the deceased consecrated. That such a figure must have been executed in a very primitive manner is evident. Its style, characterized by a closed, stiff appearance of the body, showed that the figure was intended to represent the dead in a permanent way—an effort to retain the person of the deceased in the community in place of the corpse disappearing through decay. Simultaneously was created a place which might at all times be recognized by the soul as its own, so that it might be pleased to incarnate itself there from time to time. Thus it was mortuary sculpture.

It is especially this custom, a variation of the skull and korwar veneration of the Polynesians, that proved of such importance in the development of Hinduistic art in Bali. In another chapter we shall trace the results.

BALI AFTER THE ADVENT OF HINDUISM

GREAT were the changes that took place in Bali and in other islands of the Archipelago with the coming of Hinduism. The manner of its advent is, however, still involved in doubt. In the first place, the exact time is not known, although there are indications that it must have happened in the first centuries of our era. Secondly, there lies a problem in the fact that, among the religious teachings spread over Java and Bali, Śivaitic Brāhmaṇism was predominant. Now, it is generally known that, in contrast with Buddhism, Śivaitic Brāhmaṇism is essentially a national religion, propagated neither by missions nor conversions, but mainly by birth. If there were ever so slight indications that the Hindus had come to the Archipelago in such numbers that the spread of their religion on the islands could be explained by the propagation of their race, there would be no problem. Just the contrary, however, seems true. Everything indicates that the Hindus came in the same manner as all other foreigners had come—namely, for trade only. They probably settled in small colonies on the coasts, from whence the Hinduization of the population proceeded. Intermarriage must have been a not uncommon occurrence. Soon there came into existence small domains ruled by Hindu or Hinduized princes, whereby only the members of the court, or *puri*, as it is called in Bali—i.e., the closest surroundings of the prince—must have had Hindu blood in their veins. The mass of the population was, and remained, Indonesian. Even to-day in Bali the so-called *trivamśa*, the three castes of the Hindus, constitutes only about 7 per cent. of the population. The rest call themselves *kaula* (servants), or by the well-known term *śūdra*.

Whatever may have been the case, the fact is that the Hindus and their descendants introduced in the beginning of our era

something that up to that time was quite unknown in the Archipelago—namely, kingship with all its cultural consequences, just as, ages before, it had displaced the old native social order in India itself.

The change was greater than can be realized at first glance. It is difficult to imagine what it really meant to the old indigenous village communities, described earlier, to feel the foreign power over them; the sole power they recognized before having been the local ancestors. But soon the gods of the new rulers, seemingly also ancestors—for did not they also dwell on mountains (Himālaya), and could they not incarnate themselves on earth in mortals (*avatāras*)?—lowered the position of the local forefathers.

Herein lies the key to the understanding of the place occupied in Bali even to-day by proper Hinduism as practised by the Brāhmaṇas: the gods of the Hindus, the legends and hymns pertaining to them, their deeds on earth in glorious incarnations, their divine laws—in short, the Indian culture crystallized around them—all this has at all times been and still is to the Balinese the culture of the higher castes, and it never became wholly in pure form the culture of the great masses of the population. The kings called themselves incarnations of gods; their poems were descriptions of feats of such incarnated gods (Rāma); their laws (derived mainly from the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*) gave no heed to the *ādāt*-institutions and were even frequently in flagrant conflict with the common rights of the free villagers of Bali. No wonder that to the present day the purely Hinduistic part in Balinese religious worship is felt as something remote, alien and incomprehensible, in contrast with the Hinduized folk-religion, worship of the ancestor gods, which is close to the hearts of the people.

Although the descendants of the Hindu-Balinese had the advantage of superiority in spiritual culture and also possessed correspondingly superior technical means, they were constantly checked in their efforts to create one united Balinese kingdom by a paralyzing

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counter-action, hidden in the endless division of the population into small communities. In fact, at no time was the autonomy of the innumerable village communities fully abolished, though efforts in this direction were not lacking. It went even so far that the kings ordered in some cases the destruction of charters which secured the rights of these communities and contained threats of all the punishments of hell to anyone attempting to violate them. Up to the latest period of kings in Bali the authority of the ruler was confined to the larger centres of administration, headed by an appointed official and comprising several village communities. Within the boundaries of each of these communities the king was, at least theoretically, powerless, and any intervention on his part was considered to be tyranny.

In many cases, however, the division of cultural functions between king and community led to happy results. Then the ruler was accepted and honoured as the protector of the villages against dangers threatening from without, and was gladly furnished with armed men and with part of the crops. But, as soon as he overstepped the limits of his authority by interfering with the internal affairs of the villages, he ran the risk of being driven out, which sometimes actually happened.

Yet we must not imagine the relation of village communities and royal *puris* as that of two quite separate, irreconcilable units, existing side by side and co-operating only in extreme necessity. On the contrary, one must realize that an intimate contact existed between them—for, did not the mothers of many princes come from the villages? In other ways also there was ample opportunity for contact, because these kings by no means dwelt in splendid isolation and were not so high above and far removed from the people as their decorated elephants from the black pigs of the peasants. There is evidence in the old literature that in some cases, highly extolled by the writers, the king was not only a protector from enemies, but in the true sense a wise father to the people.

It is clear that this peculiar construction of Balinese society after the coming of Hinduism must have had influence in the sphere of art. For Hinduism, here in the adopted sense of a cultural appearance, as absorbed by the Indonesian mind, has penetrated into many phases of Balinese life. If we see, for instance, that the stories of kings, as they were related in the books, form the main material of the Balinese dance-drama, of the Balinese shadow-play, of Balinese painting and Balinese literature, we also realize what an endless store of new things was brought into the villages with these stories, mostly understood as of *avatāras*, incarnations of gods. Not only stories, names and images, but also new conceptions, ethics, views of human life and ideals came with them. There is hardly a child in Bali to-day who does not know the general story of Rāma's life, even though the monkeys, who play a part in it, for the time being claim most of his attention. But for every Balinese child there comes a time when the deeper meaning of the great Rāma epic occupies his mind. And while he may regard the fine character of the hero as too noble and unattainable, far beyond his reach, there will be among the many other heroes one whose character he may adopt as his own ideal for life. That the Balinese thus follow Hindu ideals is not realized by them; Rāma is for them a Balinese prince, and Hanumān a wonderful Balinese monkey-hero. All of which does not diminish, but, on the contrary, magnifies, their significance and influence.

HISTORY OF HINDUISTIC BALI

IN connection with the remarks in the foregoing pages, it is a significant fact that our best sources, from which we can learn something about the old history of Bali, consist of charters in which some kings renounce the few rights by which they could claim to derive income from land. This they did in order that the income might be used for the worship of gods; not of the Indian Trimūrti, however, nor of the Trayastriṃśati, the thirty-three *devas*, but of the local gods, none other than the deified ancestors, now adorned with Sanskrit names. Actually there was no question of the king having any rights in land—it was all the property of the ancestors, and only a part of the income from it was allotted to the king; in no way were the rights of the ancestors affected.

Unfortunately, there are only these charters to illuminate for us Bali's past. There are no elaborate poems about the royal dynasties like those we have for Java. Therefore old Balinese history remains but a skeleton of names and dates collected from charters, without any of the other material that makes history interesting and instructive.

Nor do the oldest documents from Bali date back as far as those of Java. We know from the latter, that already in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era there were kings of a dynasty whose name ended with "varman." They reigned over a Hinduistic kingdom in the west of the island near the present Bandung, and caused the engraving of several inscriptions on river stones, which, up to this day, testify to their deeds.

In Bali, however, the oldest discovered documents originate from the time when the world-renowned Barabudur was already being built in Java—the eighth and ninth centuries. They are small

śūpas of varying sizes, made of clay dried in the sun, and containing a pair of separately made round seals bearing the confession of Buddhist faith impressed on them by means of a bronze stamp. A few sentences, containing clearly Tantric-Buddhist *mantras*, show that the kind of Buddhism professed by the monks who made these seals was not merely Mahāyāna Buddhism, but specifically the Tantric school of the Vajradharas. Here a few words may be said about Buddhism in Bali.

Buddhism had reached the Archipelago at an early time, which is confirmed by the reports of Chinese pilgrims, pre-eminently those of Fa Hian. It came first in the form of Hīnayāna, and later took root as Mahāyāna in Tantric shape. Next to it stood Śivaism in a form of the Siddhānta school, and near it, again, various teachings of other schools, in which Śiva (as well as Viṣṇu and Brahmā) was regarded as one of the appearances of the highest god Sūrya. Soon, however, there was a complete fusion of the two religions. This even went so far that charters commenced with praises to the Buddha and Śiva in one breath. In theological writings the oneness of these two was shown in many ways. And while, on the one hand, the whole pantheon of Śivaism was shown to be an emanation of the Dhyāni Buddhas, Śivaite monuments, in turn, were built in such a manner that they were mistaken later for Buddhist monuments.

It would seem that this fusion must be ascribed to that form of Mahāyāna Buddhism which entered the Archipelago in the seventh century and spread in Java in the eighth century A.D. Being of North Indian origin, and already strongly influenced by Śivaite elements, it found a fertile soil for its all-absorbing doctrines among the higher castes in Java and in Bali. For the ease with which foreign influences are absorbed is typical of the Indonesian mind; it readily recognizes its own ideas in the most different doctrines.

The result of this development can be clearly seen to-day in Bali, where one special kind of priests has the adjunct designation *buda*; but the difference between them and the other priests lies only in a

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few external attributes; of a separate congregation of Buddhists there is no trace. Buddhism, as a separate religion, seems to have disappeared at a very early stage. It soon became a section of the official Hindu-Balinese religion, as a deliverance-cult aiming at the release from the eternal cycle of reincarnations, *samsāra*. In the end it vanished completely.

But let us return to the history of Bali.

The clay *stūpas* just mentioned must belong to the eighth or ninth century A.D. But we do not possess a single charter or other trace of royal rule from that period. Now, a similar situation for any period in Old-Javanese history would not necessarily have a negative significance only. The absence of charters during a certain period is, in most cases, an indication that the region in question had lost its independence, and that the residence of the rulers was located elsewhere. Later, in the discussion of the worship of kings, we shall see the reasons for this assumption. Meanwhile we must accept these premises, and we will come to the conclusion that previous to the appearance of the first Balinese charters the island must have been under the rule of another power. And what other power could it have been, if not the Javanese Matarām, founded in A.D. 732 by King Sañjaya—the kingdom which, according to legends, ruled over Bali, Java, Sumatra, and even over parts of Further India? This offers a good explanation of the fact that Śivaitic and Buddhist figures found in Bali from that time all bear characteristics of the then Central-Javanese style. Sañjaya's kingdom was in Central-Java.

The appearance of Buddhist monks in Bali might have been connected then with Sañjaya's successor, Pañcapaṇa. This was the king who founded in A.D. 778 the well-known temple of Kalasan in Central-Java, a Buddhist monument dedicated to Tārā. Probably it was he also who introduced Mahāyāna Buddhism into Java. During his reign there even came into use for a short time the North Indian Nāgarī alphabet (at least, an early form of it), while before and after

his time a form of letters derived from those of the South Indian Pallavas, the so-called Kawi alphabet, remained in use. Thus we may accept that the eighth and ninth centuries were a period of strong Javanization for Bali, which also meant second-hand Hinduization. Should we nevertheless believe that at some time there were as well at work in Bali direct influences from India?

Charters or other historical sources give no evidence to this effect. Yet the international character of Buddhism in those times warrants the belief that the Buddhist influences, at least, were not necessarily Javanese. Moreover, was there not an international centre for Buddhist studies in the Archipelago at that time? First, in the seventh century, it was located in Java, and later in Sumatra, in the Śrīvijaya kingdom near Palembang. This latter was the place where Dharmapāla, the follower of Dignāga, taught, and where Vajrabodhi stayed for a while on his way to China, where he was to introduce Tantrism; and later still the famous Atīśa spent twelve years of his life there before taking up his task of reformation in Tibet. The uncertain times for Buddhism in India, and the fact that Chinese pilgrims, on their way to the Holy Land of the Buddhists, not only had to pass the Archipelago, but often had to stay there awaiting favourable winds for their further journey, called forth the existence of such a centre. At first it was used merely for gathering information about the Holy Land from returning pilgrims, but later their help was obtained for serious preparatory studies in Sanskrit and theology.

However, before long things changed.

In the tenth century the power of Javanese kings waned, and, as a reflex, there arose in Bali a Balinese royal dynasty—that of the Varmadevas. Its members have left evidence of their activities and of various foundations in numerous charters.

One of them, perhaps the first, named Kesarīvarmadeva, left an inscription engraved on a round pillar (of the kind King Aśoka used to erect) which now stands in Sanur on the south coast of Bali. It relates to the king's victories beyond Bali in the first half of the tenth

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century. The letters employed are both of the pre-Nāgarī style and of the Kawi alphabet; the language is Sanskrit, as well as Old-Balinese. Most surprising, however, is the fact that the king caused the Old-Balinese part of the text to be inscribed in Nāgarī letters, incomprehensible to the Balinese, while, *vice versa*, the Sanskrit text was written in Kawi script not intelligible to Hindus.

Another king, Chandrabhayasiṃhavarṃmadeva, ordered in A.D. 962 that a reservoir with suitable surroundings should be constructed at the holiest spring in Bali. Even now, every year, on a certain day, thousands of pilgrims stream from all parts of the island to this sacred spring—Tirta Mpul is its name—in order to bathe in its holy waters. In the name one recognizes the Sanskrit *tīrtha*—holy watering-place and place of pilgrimage.

The dynasty of the Varmadevas reigned for at least two centuries. In the beginning the kings restricted themselves exclusively to Bali, but later they came again into closer contact with Java, but this time not in the sense of dependence. A daughter of a Javanese king, named Mahendradattā, or Guṇapriyadharmapatnī after marriage, wedded a Balinese prince of the Varmadeva dynasty, whose residence, as shown by archæological finds, lay in the district of the present villages Pedjeng and Bědulu. A strongly renewed Javanization (and, simultaneously, a more intensive Hinduization) resulted from this marriage, and one must believe that this is the period in which various Tantric rites came into vogue in Bali: their traces may still be seen in the existing witch-dances and various Shamanistic performances of the Balinese. It is distinctly mentioned in traditions that these practices came from Java, which had already acquired a certain fame abroad in matters of sorcery and Tantrism. Although the true origin of these practices, strongly reminiscent of the *kapālikas*, has not been established with certainty, it seems probable, nevertheless, that the country of their origin was South India.

By this marriage of the Javanese princess with the Balinese

king a prince was born, the famous Erlangga. Through his own intermarriage later he became king of Java, where, in his turn, he disseminated Balinese influences. His reign was for many reasons a very remarkable one, and, since the achievements of a Balinese prince are involved here, we shall devote a few words to his story. Besides, he is the only one of whom we know some historical details.

Erlangga was born in Bali in A.D. 991. In the beginning of the eleventh century he went to the court of Java's king, Dharmavaṃśa, in order to marry his daughter, whose name has not reached us. As son-in-law of the king, he was probably charged with the administration of a province, similarly to the Indian *yuvārājas*. A big disaster however, befell the royal house in A.D. 1006: an enemy penetrated into the *puri*; the king was killed and the palace devastated. Only few escaped the bloodshed, but among them was Erlangga. For years the youthful prince now had to roam through forests and mountains, finding shelter with hermits. An account of these events, expressed with touching simplicity, is contained in his great charter (which is now one of the treasures of the Calcutta Museum), on one side in Sanskrit, on the other in Old-Javanese.

Meanwhile, after this *pralaya* (disaster), the great kingdom of Dharmavaṃśa fell apart; numerous small *rājas* were tearing the country asunder in feuds. Erlangga then undertook the great task of re-establishing the unity of the Old-Javanese kingdom. He succeeded, indeed, with the help of devoted troops, incessantly progressing with smaller and greater victories, till, after thirty years, his dream was realized: the kingdom was whole again, but only for a short time. For, soon afterwards, he forsook the jewelled throne to exchange it for the hard stone floor of a hermitage. He took holy orders, dividing his kingdom between his two sons. But in order to invest this division with a certain inviolability the king called upon the magically powerful hermit and saint Bharāda, and the latter solemnly performed the division according to Tantric

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ritual. In the solitude of his hermitage Erlangga must have died about 1050 A.D.

It is natural that this king, whose complete royal title was Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Lokeśvara Dharmavaṃśa Erlanggānantavikramottunggadeva, is glorified in many Balinese traditions—for was he not the only Balinese prince who ever ruled over the two islands? Still, the place where his ashes were deposited is not in Bali. Enclosed in a stone casket, they were buried under the pool of a holy watering-place on the eastern slope of the Pēnanggungan mountain in Java. Figures of Śrī and Lakshmi were put up there as spouts, the captured spring streaming into the pool from their stone breasts, and a figure of Erlangga himself, in the shape of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, was installed in a niche above the water. And now we return to Bali.

During the years of Erlangga's residence in Java, when he could not attend to his little homeland, his younger brother ruled there in his name. The latter, out of respect for his illustrious elder brother, never dared to sign charters with his own name and always referred to himself as the "youngest child" of his parents. After his death his ashes, with those of his wives, were entombed in a row of monuments hewn in a wall of rock banking the upper course of one of Bali's holiest rivers near Tampak Siring. These tombs were once guarded by hermits, whose numerous cells, in fact a whole monastery, also hewn in the solid rock nearby, may still be seen to-day. Together with the stately royal tombs they form most impressive remains of Bali's distant past.

After the death of Erlangga, Bali again regained its independence and made its own history, of which we know, unfortunately, but little more than a few names of kings. But Java remained watchful, and, as soon as its own position was secure enough, repeatedly tried to subjugate the island. This happened, though for a short time only, during the reign of King Kṛtanāgara (A.D. 1284)—the same king who dared to insult the great Kublai Khan by sending his envoy back to China with a mutilated face instead of paying tribute to the mighty

emperor. But, during the last Hinduistic kingdom of Java, Majapahit, Bali was at last decisively subjected by Majapahit's most illustrious king, Rājasanāgara.

In A.D. 1343 a large fleet manned by soldiers left the Javanese harbours, heading for Bali. There, from a landing-place on the south coast, started the victorious expedition which put an end to the Balinese royal house and erased all traces of its power. A dynasty of Javanese blood was installed in its stead, and in place of the old centre of power, Pedjeng, a new seat of Javanese rulers (vassals of Majapahit) arose in Gelgel. Later it was transferred to Klungkung, which is still a flourishing centre to-day. The power of the native Balinese rājas was broken; but even after the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit crumbled and perished, about one century later, the Javanese vassals, gradually Balinized, continued to retain their supremacy in Bali. When, in the nineteenth century, the Dutch came into closer contact with the island, the most important power there was still the rāja of Klungkung, even though in the meantime several smaller rājas had managed to assert their independence, and the days of a central kingdom were gone for ever. To-day, long after the establishment of Dutch government in Bali, the precedence of Klungkung is still maintained in the regent's title. It is Deva Agung, the Great Deity; and whether or not it purports to imply that even now this regent is regarded by Balinese as an incarnation of a god, it raises him in rank over all other regents in the island.

Such is the history of Hinduistic Bali sketched in outline. As one sees, Islām has never taken root on the island with its round-one-million population, in spite of the fact that in course of the centuries the many millions of Java have been converted to it in their own way. True, there are Muslims in Bali, and even some Muslim Balinese, but these are no longer regarded as such—they have become aliens, if not outcasts. For Balinese Hinduism is essentially a national religion, and whoever gives it up loses by consequence his nationality as well.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AND THE CULT OF KINGS

AN insight into the religious practices of the Old-Balinese can be gained only through indirect evidence. True, one can learn something about their religious worship in the theological writings, but these contain mainly mystical speculations and do not often touch upon the practical aspects of worship. They comprise, for instance, different systems of deliverance, derived principally from the Sāṃkhya school; these are partly or wholly elaborated and adapted for the country's use by translation and modifications, but they throw little light on the public worship as performed by the priests in the past.

Nevertheless, we are not completely deprived of material, because, in the first place, the present rituals must be the successive development of former rites; secondly, we see from representations on the reliefs of the great Javanese monuments that the old temples differed but little, in their exterior aspect at any rate, from those of present-day Bali. These reliefs tell even more; they show us an Old-Javanese society which, in its main features, and frequently also in details, bears distinct likeness to the life of Bali's inhabitants to-day. As a matter of fact, Bali's present is just as important for the study of old Hinduistic Java, as the remains of the latter's past are illuminative for Bali's cultural history.

Thus we have at least some certainty about the external form of the Old-Balinese temples. They consisted of a piece of ground, cleared of grass and weeds and surrounded by a wall about twice the height of a man. Inner walls divided the temple terrain into two or more courts. These courts were mostly situated behind one another, or, where the location demanded it, next to each other—but always so that the second court could be entered only through the first;

and if there was a third court, the first and second had to be passed in order to enter it.

Entrance to the first court was afforded by a fairly large opening in the wall, flanked on either side by pilaster-like constructions, rising higher than the walls, and forming an open gate without roof or doors. The remarkable feature of this construction, still common in Bali, is, that the inner walls of the pilasters, facing each other across the passage-way, are devoid of ornament or architectural detail. They form absolutely plain vertical surfaces, which, if brought together, would perfectly fit into each other. The impression of the gate is thus of a small temple-like construction cut in half and pushed asunder in the middle, the opening forming a passage. This form of gate is called to-day in Bali *tjaṇḍi bēntar*, which means, split *chaṇḍi*.

In the first temple-court there were several rectangular stone terraces, shaded, like the Indian *maṇḍapas*, by thatched roofs resting on wooden pillars. The largest of these terraces served as gathering-places for the council of village elders; a special terrace was reserved for the orchestra (*gamēlan*); and often the sides of the stone bases were decorated with reliefs depicting episodes from some well-known stories, mostly from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

To the second court led a second, inner gate. This one, however, was provided with wooden, skilfully carved doors turning on bronze-capped pivots and furnished with a wooden or bronze lock, so that they could be securely shut. Its high towering roof was surmounted by a *liṅga*- or jewel-ornament. As this entrance was properly destined for the use of gods and kings only, there was a smaller gate to the right, or to the left, or one at either side; these were also provided with doors, and served for daily use. In order to pass either of the gates one had to mount a few steps at one side and descend again at the other.

Having entered the last court, one found there a number of structures dominated by a few which could be recognized from

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a distance as dwellings for gods on account of their peculiar roofs; such roofs one may find to-day also in Nepal, though in a somewhat different form. The whole structure is called at present by the Balinese *meru*. Just as to-day, the *merus* formerly consisted of a square stone terrace on which, supported by posts, rested a single square wooden chamber with a double wooden door in front. Above it rose the roof, formed by a pyramidal system of superposed storeys, each covered with palm-fibre or wooden shingles and decreasing in size in their upward sequence. At the top, the whole pyramidal structure of roofs, always uneven in number, culminated in one point representing the *linga* or the *ratna* (jewel). The name *meru*, derived from Mahāmeru, the Indian mountain of the gods, already indicates the destination of these structures; they were, as they still are, dwellings for the temporary residence of gods when they descended from their mountains to lend their presence to a temple-feast.

Besides these dwellings for the gods there were in the last court several other smaller structures, mostly of the *maṇḍapa* type; such were the roofed terraces, sometimes with wide benches between the pillars and with reliefs adorning their basements. Most of them served for the placing of offerings, which consisted of fruit, flowers, rice-cakes—the best of the harvest—skilfully arranged in towers or other shapes and beautifully decorated. On important feasts similar additional structures, built of light material (bamboo), were erected in the temple-courts for temporary use. Further, there were different traditional trees planted in the temple-courts, such as *nāgapushpas*, *bakulas*, *nahikusumas*, etc.

We cannot give the Old-Balinese or Old-Javanese names for all these parts of the temple. It is only known that the outer wall was designated *mekhalā*, the closed gate with the roof was called *gopura* or *gupura*, and the structure for offerings *bale nyāsa* (*bale* is the indigenous name for the small *maṇḍapas*).

It was in these temple-courts that the ceremonies of religious worship took place. But the part played therein by Hinduistic

priests was not always the most important. True, fully adorned, they had to receive Śiva into themselves in order to transform the flower-speckled water into holy water (*toya tīrtha*); also, through recitation of their *mantras*, accompanied by the steady ringing of their bell (*ghaṇṭā*), burning incense (*dhūpa*) and strewing flowers, they had to consecrate different ritual objects and cleanse the temple court from evil influences. But the actual celebration, the most important part of the feast—the offering of the hundreds of colourful sacrificial gifts to the gods—was not performed by the Brāhmaṇas, but by the folk-priest, the successor of the highest of the magic village-heads of olden times.

For who indeed were the gods to whom the offerings were brought? Not Śiva, nor Brahmā, nor Viṣṇu—at least, not in the first place, nor exclusively. They were again the local gods, the deified founders of the village communities, of whom we spoke before, but now adorned with titles like *bhaṭṭāra* and sometimes bearing names that sounded like Sanskrit, but which were in reality only Sanskritized Balinese names. In this, however, the Balinese were not original; there was already in the eighth century the example of a Javanese king, Raka (Baron) of Panangkaran, named Pantjapan, who, in editing a charter in Sanskrit verse, had his name Sanskritized into Kāriyāna Paṇamkaraṇa Pañcapaṇa—probably also for the sake of the metre.

Speaking of Sanskrit, in our days one can hardly recognize, or distinguish at all, the mutilated Sanskrit terms in the holy *mantras* murmured by the priests, which *mantras* are derived from various Sanskrit works like the Purāṇic *Sūryārchanas* and others. If, in addition to this, one should give any credence to the priests who designate the delivery of these *mantras* as “recitation of Vedas,” one may arrive at completely wrong conclusions. In former times, however, when there was constant contact with visiting Brāhmaṇas from India, the *mantras* must have been pure in wording and identical with those used by corresponding sects in India.

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It is regrettable that it has not been possible as yet to establish with certainty from what Indian schools and sects these *mantras* and offering rituals were taken. But we must bear in mind that only a very small part of the numerous books of the priests have been critically studied. Co-operation with Indian scholars would doubtless greatly increase our knowledge, and the previously-mentioned institution in Bali offers a splendid opportunity for this.

Yet the common religious worship, as discussed in the preceding pages, has not handed down to us the most important remains of Old-Balinese art. It is quite another source that provided the statues, reliefs, and monuments that to-day bear witness to the past art of Bali.

Next to the habitual worship of gods there existed still another of a more private character. It is difficult to find for it a better designation than "worship of kings."

As we have seen already, it was an accepted view in Bali that kings were incarnations of gods, especially of Indian gods, and particularly of Vishṇu. As such, their history formed a continuation of the well-known *avatāras* of this god; thereby the conquest of one or another enemy was regarded as the reason for such an incarnation, just as in the case of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Here one might be of the opinion that, considering that the divine principle (Vishṇu or Śiva) returned to heaven after the death of the temporal body, a general worship of these deities would simultaneously be a sufficient veneration of the deceased kings. But such a view would leave unexplained a whole series of important things in the old culture of Java and Bali.

What was actually the case?

After the body of the dead king was cremated, numerous rites were performed in order to convey his soul, liberated from earthly bonds, to heaven. At a certain time after their completion one more ceremony had to be held; it was to give to the dead final and complete deliverance and bring him outside the circle of ceaseless rein-

carnations. To this end his soul was called to incarnate itself temporarily into a "flower-body" (*pushpaśarīra*) which contained his ashes. Then the *pushpaśarīra* was burnt and its ashes solemnly thrown into the sea. A part of the king's ashes, however, was retained.

Some time after this ceremony, which corresponded to the Indian *śrāddha*, it was customary to consecrate a special piece of ground, to dig a pit and bury therein the conserved part of the king's ashes (his soul was now dwelling in the highest heavens). The ashes were enclosed in a stone casket together with small bits of various magic metals, each bearing an engraved syllable denoting a certain deity. So far the ceremony followed in the main the Indian tradition of entombing the ashes of the dead. As for the erection of a small monument customary in India, we shall presently see how the Balinese changed this custom and adapted it to their own needs.

When the pit was closed, they placed over it a stone image. This image represented the deity whose incarnation the dead king was supposed to have been during his life-time. But certain deviations from the traditional representations of that god indicated that the figure was not intended to be an image of the god himself, but only one of his incarnations. Furthermore, there was frequently erected round such a figure a stone structure similar in shape to Indian temples; in former times it was known under the name *prāsāda*, but now it is generally referred to in Java by the word *chaṇḍi*, which is probably derived from *chaṇḍigrha*—House of the Goddess of Death. Finally, divine worship was offered thereafter to the dead king by his successors, in a certain month of every year, and on these occasions the soul of the dead was supposed to enter the stone image. Thus it was possible to maintain magic contact with the ancestors of the dynasty.¹

It appears that almost everything that remains from the ancient art of Bali and Java pertained to this cult of deceased kings. Hardly

¹ See, for further particulars, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. li (1931), 1 ff.

any of the innumerable images found or excavated ever served for the direct worship of a god in the manner customary in India previously and now. Probably every one of them once stood in a *prāsāda*, or in a simple *maṇḍapa*, a pillared open hall, in both cases serving for the same worship. All the stone reliefs now existing formerly belonged to, or still decorate, such *prāsādas* or *chaṇḍis*. Nearly all the ruins one sees are remains of such *chaṇḍis*, of their walls and gates, or of hermitages and holy watering-places that belonged to them. In brief, nearly all the pieces of any significance, fashioned of natural stone, and thus able to resist the wear of ages, belonged in the past to the cult of dead kings.

Yet all this is not as strange as it might seem. From representations on reliefs we have clear evidence, confirming our assumption based on analogy with present-day Bali, that most of the structures not pertaining to the cult of kings were built of easily deteriorating materials, at any rate not of hard stone. The temples—*i.e.*, their walls and gates—were built of brick, their shrines of wood. The palaces were made of brick, wood and clay. That such buildings could not have withstood the effects of tropical humidity for centuries is clear.

Those of the structures, however, which were to last longer than for one generation, and had to stand as long as the dynasty hoped to endure—the places of contact between king and forefathers—had to be constructed of permanent material, hard stone or, if such could not be obtained, as in Bali, sandstone or tuff, which the builders covered with a thin layer of diamond cement (*vajralepa*), thus hardening the surface. And the charters, in which the rights of such holy places were laid down, were to defy the ages; they were engraved on stones or on copper plates, so that they could be preserved as long as these rights were respected.

Here a comparison with Egypt may be useful. There, likewise, by far the greater part of the remains from the past belonged to the cult of dead kings, whereas palaces and dwellings have dis-

appeared. Only, in Egypt the houses of the gods, the temples, were built so solidly that they could hardly deteriorate. But we must not forget that the temples of Egypt were really dwellings for the gods, while in Bali they were, as they still are, merely temporary abodes. No images other than for decorative purposes were made in the Balinese temples, for the gods came to the temples only on big feasts, and upon their termination they returned to the mountains where they lived. This conception, in many respects so different from the classical Indian view, is undoubtedly due to the persistently enduring influences of the ancestor cult, wherein gods were regarded primarily as forefathers, dwelling in their heaven on the mountains. Later we shall see how these conceptions affected the development of the style in Bali art.

That the above-sketched cult of kings was of extreme importance to a reigning dynasty is evident from many passages in the old literature of Java; as long as the *chaṇḍi* and its consecrated contents endured as a source of magic power for the dynasty, this power could, at most, be subjected for a time only; its capacity to rise again was, however, ensured. Therefore the devastations of *chaṇḍis*, of which the ruination of the pit and its contents was obviously the main purpose, should not be ascribed to the religious zeal of Muslims—by the nature of things this was never the case in Bali—but to victorious kings, who, having conquered a rival, desired to abolish for ever the possibility of restoration of the latter's dynastic power by ruining his holy *chaṇḍis*. For the *chaṇḍis* were, indeed, the vulnerable and hence carefully protected heart of the royal houses.

Now we shall see what time has left of them.

ANTIQUITIES AND THEIR STYLE

MATERIAL AND FIND-SPOTS.—What the blue slate was in the art of Gandhāra, the soft grey volcanic tuff was for the plastic art of Bali; most of its sculpture was, and still is, executed in this kind of stone. This means that one should not expect to find any pieces wholly preserved, and it precludes the assumption that the damaged state of nearly all antiquities should be ascribed to intentional demolition. The stone, being of volcanic origin, is sometimes of uneven composition and contains pieces of hard lava; sometimes it is no more than compressed powder. Thus the greatest care was necessary when the figures were photographed, and special precautions had to be taken in the case of excavation. It is not surprising that in many cases the makers of the figures covered them with a thin layer of cement to prevent too rapid deterioration.

Next to stone statues, smaller figures of wood and bronze were known in Bali. The latter were cast by the *cire-perdue* process, but on the whole only a small number of them were found on the island. As for wooden figures, they have naturally nearly all disappeared—the few I saw were eaten by white ants and other insects to such an extent that no traces of the details were left, which made their correct dating impossible. Of old gold and silver objects, and especially of old statuettes cast in these metals, Bali has yielded practically nothing, although in Java quite a number of the latter were found. It seems that in general the art of metal casting was much less developed in Bali than in Java.

And, finally, the paintings. It is clear that owing to the climate nothing is left of the numberless paintings on cloth which must once have decorated the temples on festive occasions; and were it not for the fact that the old writings were constantly transcribed on fresh

lontar-leaves, these likewise would have never reached us. Even now the deterioration of an abandoned temple, for instance, progresses so rapidly, that within a few years there is left little more than a mound overgrown with weeds, in which the tuff-stones and bricks of the *maṇḍapa*-terraces undergo a steady process of disintegration.

It was, therefore, a great surprise when, following a landslide in 1924, there came to light near the village of Pedjeng several hundreds of quite unimpaired clay *stūpas*, which were not even baked, but merely dried in the sun.¹ As a matter of fact, burying in the ground is still the best method of conservation, because, next to the climatic effects, it is mainly the rapid invasion of tropical vegetation that clears away unprotected objects and structures.

As for the places where the antiquities were found, it is noteworthy that most of the very old pieces were concentrated within a comparatively small area in the middle of the island. It would seem justified to infer that this was the place where the *puris* of the Old-Balinese *rājas* were situated, notwithstanding the fact that I could find no definite traces of former royal dwellings there. This particular region, lying, like another Pañchāla, between two rivers, the Pētanu and the Pakrisan, extends like a narrow strip from the southern coast of the island up to the immense crater of the Batur, and comprises the present districts of Pedjeng and Bēdulu. Even now these districts are regarded as belonging to the heart of Bali, and their importance is in no small degree augmented by the fact that within their boundaries lies the holiest spring of Bali—Tirta Mpul. Eastwards and westwards from this region antiquities are rather scarce. Therefore it seems natural that the old legends refer to this central region as the place where the Old-Balinese kings fought their battles with Javanese intruders struggling for supremacy over the island.

KINDS OF ANTIQUITIES.—By far the greater part of the antiquities I found consisted of figures and fragments of figures. Yet the search

¹ See *Indian Art and Letters*, N.S., vol. i, no. 1 (1927).

for a corresponding number of remains of structures, wherein these figures could have once stood, was fruitless. The inference to be drawn is that the majority of them were not placed originally in closed structures, but that they had stood on roofed terraces similar to the Indian *maṇḍapas*. We know with certainty that in Java this was often the case; for Bali we must accept the same conclusion. And, considering that Balinese art on the whole was more primitive than the Old-Javanese art, we may readily assume that the number of solid structures harbouring such figures must also have been considerably less. However, even of such terraces I found but few traces, but this fact presents no problem; it is natural that after the Balinese royal houses had perished, the terraces and figures were either demolished or abandoned, because, as we know already, the figures were not images of gods, but posthumous statues of kings. In many cases, however, the figures, still regarded as holy, and feared by the population on account of their magic power, were installed in temples, where they could be cared for and supplied with offerings. But their original dwellings, the roofed terraces, were left to their fate, which means that as soon as the protecting layer of cement had cracked in several places the monsoons did not cease their work of destruction, if no special measures for preservation were taken.

Thus I found the figures in places to which they did not properly belong—namely, in temples (*puras*), where the Balinese do not exactly know what to make of them now. To the people these figures are merely magically dangerous stones (fallen down from the sky, according to popular belief), of which one is afraid and so they must be cared for; their destruction might lead to some calamity. As for their original significance, it is completely forgotten.

An interesting example illustrating this is offered by my experience at Tampak Siring. Not far from this locality, which has acquired a certain fame among tourists owing to the so-called "kings' tombs" situated there, lies the already mentioned very holy watering-place, Tirta Mpul. Exploring the vicinity, I found a short distance

away, in a village named Manukaya, a much weather-worn inscription on a stone. None of the Balinese could decipher the old engraved letters, nor were the contents of the inscription known to anyone. The stone stood there, as every villager of Manukaya knew it from childhood, wrapped in a white cloth and provided with the regular offerings. I was told, however, that in the fourth month of every year, at full moon, this stone (which is also said to have fallen from the sky) is carried to the holy waters of Tirta Mpul and bathed therein—much to the detriment of the stone, by the way, which is a big slab of soft grey tuff covered as usual with a thin layer of cement. Deciphering the inscription, I found that it was none other than the charter of Tirta Mpul's foundation, made in the fourth month, at full-moon day, in the year 962 A.D. Thus the people have kept alive the connection between stone and watering-place for almost one thousand years, and have always celebrated its anniversary ceremony on the correct day; but of the true meaning of this connection every recollection was lost. I need hardly add that the communication of my findings was received in the place with no little interest.

To return to the figures and their sanctuaries, we may gain an idea about the original shape of the ancient *prāsādas*, *chaṇḍis*, or, as some of them were also called, *chaityas*, from several still existing monuments. Pre-eminent among finds of this kind were *chaṇḍis* hewn directly in the rocks: they appear as a fairly deep vaulted niche, excavated in a steep wall banking a valley or a river, with the *chaṇḍi* proper protruding in its middle in high relief. This manner of placing *chaṇḍis* may have developed from the making of *stūpa* reliefs, of which I found one specimen crowned by a thirteen-fold *chhatra* not far from Bēdulu. The *chaṇḍi*, being a solid mass in the shape of an Indian temple, is adorned with a blank door, hence has no chamber, and thus no pit for the ashes. However, these were deposited under the *chaṇḍi* in a different manner, namely, through a horizontal tunnel beginning under the basement of the monument and running underneath to its centre. It is not improbable that the statue of the

king was usually placed here before the *chaṇḍi*, instead of within. There is one single example to corroborate this assumption, the rock *chaṇḍi* at the river Kalēbutan, where the figure of the king stands out in high relief against the false door. On the whole, no less than twelve such rock *chaṇḍis* are known at present, of which the most important are the complex of nine at Tampak Siring.¹

In several cases the rock *chaṇḍis* are flanked on either side by lower niches formerly occupied by hermits. These niches, hewn in the rock, have the form of the vanished ordinary hermitages—three walls of clay and a sloping straw-thatched roof. Real cave hermitages are also known in Bali. Shortly before my visit there was discovered the now renowned cave of Bédulu. The entrance to this grotto is formed by the gaping mouth of a huge monster-head; a narrow passage provided with niches on either side leads to the proper cavern, the whole being of a T-like formation.² A short while ago another rock *chaṇḍi* was discovered in the vicinity of Tabanan, but this time with a real chamber; it still awaits closer examination.

Further, I found a number of miniature *chaṇḍis*, carved of one piece of stone. These, too, were solid, while in the external niches at the four sides were the figures, customary for Java, of Durgā Mahīshāsuramardinī (north), Gaṇeśa (west, or, if the entrance faced westwards, east), and one of a Ṛshi (south). At the presumable entrance was, likewise in relief, the traditional figure of Śiva, in the shape of Mahādeva, with four arms, holding a *chāmara* and *akṣhamālā* in the rear hands—doubtless on the same principle here as in the case of the king's figure at the rock *chaṇḍi* on the Kalēbutan mentioned before. These miniature *chaṇḍis* evidently stood on a base (*yonī*) and did service as real *chaṇḍis*, though in none of them could I discover traces of formerly deposited ashes. These must have been placed in the *yonī*.

This brings us to another category of antiquities—the *yonis* and *lingas*, which are found in Bali in great numbers. The *lingas* are (as

¹ See *Oudheidkundig Verlag*, 1921.

² *Ibid.*, 1925.

is usual also in Java) of a triple composition: below, a square base partly fitting into a corresponding hollow in the *yoni*; above it an octagonal piece, which, in turn, is surmounted by a cylinder rounded off at the top. Each of these inseparable three parts is of equal height, width and length, so that each of them could be closely fitted into a cube. It was striking that almost all measurements in these *lingas* were a multiple of three, and one is tempted to infer that arrangements of mystic numbers were employed. *Lingas*, too, were monuments for the kings' souls.

Among the *lingas* I encountered a few *mukhalingas*, and one specimen which could be designated as *aṣṭamukhalinga*: the *linga* proper being surrounded by eight busts of Śiva, corresponding to his eight *mūrtis*, but all identical in form, and eight complete figures of Śiva seated around the lotus below (Plate XIX). Something similar I found also at the base of a Buddhist *stūpa*, but there, of course, the figures were of *dhyānibuddhas*.

Further, I encountered another peculiar kind of sculptures, very rare in Java, which I named *chatuḥkāya*. They are presumably variations of the *chaturmukhalingas*, wherein the figures of Śiva (originally only heads) gradually gained in significance and grew in dimensions till, at last, they completely displaced the *linga* in the middle, forming a compact group of four identical figures closely placed together back to back. The Balinese regard such compositions as representations of Brahmā and call them *tjaturmykas* (*chaturmukha*). That this cannot be correct clearly follows from a particularly fine specimen at Pedjeng, in which each of the four figures has a third eye in the brow (Śiva), in one hand a *śankha* (Viṣṇu), and in the other a book (Brahmā); thus, it can hardly be anything else but a *chatuḥkāya* of the *trimūrti* (Plate XI).

Finally, this form has given rise to still other very peculiar four-fold figures, where the faces are hidden behind stylized masks and the component figures are all in *ālīḍha* attitude (Plate XX). In one case it is clear that the representation of Bhīma was intended; this

appears from the presence of his attributes, known from his traditional representation in the shadow-play (*pañchanakhā*, checkered loin-cloth, bare thighs and legs, crescent-shaped head-dress, etc.). A similar, but single, figure, about six feet in height, is represented in another case standing on a corpse, betraying a strong Tantric influence. Tantrism must have frequently flourished in secret among the rulers of Java and Bali, mainly as a highly esteemed doctrine of deliverance.

To those familiar with the customary figures of Hindu gods, these strange outgrowths in Bali must seem to be either the result of ignorance of traditional prescriptions, or of a loose play of phantasy. Neither of the views seems to be just, however, and we shall presently see how the makers of the figures arrived at these peculiar forms.

It has already been pointed out that the figures were not images of gods, but representations of dead kings, serving as a means of magic contact between the soul of the dead and the survivors. Hence was chosen the shape of the particular god of whom the deceased was supposed to have been an incarnation. It was believed that he reassumed this shape after his deliverance. But often the king was regarded as having obtained deliverance already during his life through the practice of Tantric teachings. Therefore the strong deviations of these figures from the orthodox representations of gods doubtless must be ascribed to Tantric sects and their doctrines. Since, however, our knowledge concerning Tantrism in Java and Bali is still very vague (Bhairava-sects probably were the most widely spread), it is not yet possible to throw light on the exact origin of these forms, and we can only guess at their secret meaning. That the hero Bhīma was well suited to play the part of such a redeemer I have tried to prove recently in a separate article. In most cases, however, it was Bhairava or another *krodha*-form of Śiva.

But let us return to our enumeration.

Considering that the figures were of royal personages, one would

naturally expect to find among them also female representations. For up to the advent of Dutch rule in Bali there still subsisted the custom of burning widows together with the dead spouse. And, indeed, I found a number of female images, but they practically never had any distinguishing attributes identifying them with any particular female deity. Further, it was striking that wherever figures stood in groups, these groups consisted of one male and several female deities, next to a *rshi* and a figure of Gaṇeśa. Seen in the light of the cult of dead kings, it is not at all impossible that these represented the king with his wives, his court-priest and his prime minister. Although there is much that favours this assumption, I have not yet been able to establish it with certainty.

In one single case I found a king and a queen placed together on one lotus and standing against one back piece (Plate VII). In a few similar cases there were even inscriptions on the back of the figure which clearly confirmed the assumption that we are dealing with regular ancestor figures and not with cult images of gods.

Water-spouts in most varied shapes also form an important portion of Bali's antiquities. Watering-places are even now much loved by the Balinese, and it seems that in former times it was not different. Here, naturally, the artists could give free play to their imagination, and thus we find most varied subjects fashioned into spouts. Here it is an Arjuna practising *tapas* (asceticism); there, a hermit pressing water out of a little human creature lying in his hands (Plate XVI); then, again, it is a representation of Hiranyakaśipu's death inflicted by Viṣṇu in the shape of Nṛsiṃha (Plate XVIII); and, sometimes, a strong feeling for a somewhat crude humour caused a hermit to eject water from underneath his raised loin-cloth. *Makara* spouts, so common in Java, also occurred among the antiquities, though in distinctly Balinized form (Plate XXII).

Of reliefs, I found but few. The only old relief of significance is the row of life-size representations on a rock near Bédulu, discovered

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by Nieuwenkamp.¹ It must date from the latest period before Bali's final subjection to Java. Quite unique in style, these reliefs, extending over sixty-five feet in length, served as ornamentation for a hermitage situated nearby; they depict an unknown story of a witch and a hunting incident.

Finally, we should not omit a beautiful large stone vessel for holy water standing in a temple at Pedjeng. Its external surface is elaborately decorated with rich reliefs inspired by the *amrtamanthana*, the Churning of the Ocean, though with considerable modifications (Plate XVII).

After this brief survey of the various kinds of antiquities which Bali offers to students of Indian influences in the Archipelago, we pass to a short review of the changes undergone by the Indian style in Bali under the influence of Indonesian principles.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STYLE.—As already stated, the oldest stone figures found in Bali were of a style closely connected with that of Central Java of the eighth and ninth centuries. This means that they were distant offshoots of the Gupta art. I have also shown that the explanation of this affinity must be sought in the political dependence and, hence, strong exposure to cultural influences from Java, which at that time was at the height of a flourishing period. But no sooner did this period of bloom come to an end, than we see in Bali the appearance of a more primitive style based, nevertheless, on the same principles. The Balinese figures from this period (beginning with the tenth century) are of much the same kind as those we have from Java of the latest period of Hinduism there, which, however, was four centuries later. The explanation for this is simple: with the cessation of political dependence on Java, the Balinese rulers endeavoured to develop their own powers, whereby they had to allot more place to the indigenous Balinese, and generally Indonesian, conceptions—a process which started in Java so much later because of its stronger and repeated Hinduization. Thus, the development

¹ See *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1925.

of the style in Bali's Hinduistic art shows a succession of distinct periods, which may be enumerated as follows:

A *Hindu-Balinese period*, from the eighth to the tenth century, during which, owing either to direct influences from India (Buddhism), or influences from Java, or both, sculptures of decidedly Indian character were created (Plates I-V).

This was followed by the *Old-Balinese period*, tenth to thirteenth century, in which the Indian influences were adapted and incorporated into an art which became distinctly Balinese and inevitably more primitive in the beginning than that of the preceding period (Plates VI-X).

The succeeding *Middle-Balinese period* forms a transition to the modern art of Bali and flourished during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Plates XI-XIV).¹

One must bear in mind, however, that the process of Balinization, properly beginning with the Old-Balinese period, did not progress steadily, and that new Balinese art may not be regarded as a direct result of the basic principles characterizing that period. For, very clearly, there came at intervals ever-renewed influences from Java, especially during the reign of Erlangga's mother (end of the tenth century): pieces originating from or shortly after that time show very marked Javanese characteristics.

In what direction, then, did the Balinese develop their art derived from both Hindus and Javanese?

This question calls for a double reply, considering that two different directions are involved. The first is closely connected with the difference in national character between the Balinese and the Javanese; the second, common to both, is conditioned by the purpose

¹ Beginning with the fourteenth century, the execution of figures in permanent material must have come to a sudden standstill, judging by the complete absence of remains of the following centuries. The sole possible and most probable explanation is that Bali, deprived of its own kings, was no longer erecting images for their veneration and, hence, no *chandis* with other consecrated places appertaining thereto.

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for which certain figures were made, and thus involves mainly the development of mortuary sculpture, affecting to a lesser degree other products of art.

With regard to the first point, we must observe that the Balinese, in contrast with the Javanese, especially those of Central-Java, have a strong predilection for the baroque and for redundancy. While the Javanese, as a personality, conveys the impression of modesty and reserve, the Balinese asserts himself directly and is not averse to showing off. And while the Javanese in his demeanour is either prince or slave, the Balinese has more of the self-confident free citizen; on the whole, there is more frankness in his disposition than in the nature of the Javanese; he will not easily bear an injustice and will clearly give expression to either his approval or disapproval. In contrast with the Javanese, who is bent on mysticism and relishes above all a profound discourse, the Balinese has a preference for things concrete, and is, for instance, a great lover of a hearty meal. The ideal of the Javanese is the refined knight, who bears misfortune and even injustice without flinching, but who also, in joy and triumph, is master of his emotions. He seeks the refined, even the subtle and spiritual, and his arts are marked by reserve and finesse. The Balinese, on the other hand, likes the more coarsely expressive in jest and earnest; he is lavish with gilt and bright colours; his music, though rich and melodious, is characteristically explosive; and sudden outbursts of rapid, jerky movements typify his vigorous dance-rhythms.

In the ancient sculpture of Bali the inclination toward the baroque appears most markedly when one compares the almost Javanese Siva of Bědulu (Plate I), a figure calm in form and lofty in expression, with the Nṛsiṃha spout of Pedjeng (Plate XVIII), superabundant in form, baroque, wild, flaming. The first piece belongs to the Hindu-Balinese period, the latter to the Middle-Balinese; thus, at least four centuries of Bali's art formation lie between them.

These characteristic baroque traits finally lead to the peculiar contemporary art of Bali, whose coloured wooden figures of dancing

gods are the purest expression of the Balinese soul and phantasy. Everybody knows them now—their demoniac features with bulging eyes, their brawny limbs and over-ornate dress. Sparkling with gold and with shining red, blue and green colours, they lead as it were a round-dance, flashing with their eyes, stamping and snorting. This is the way the Balinese also likes many of his gods best, not as pale ascetic lords, but as vigorous super-Balinese.

This, however, does not explain another typical appearance manifest in the antiquities—the peculiar stiffness and cramped appearance of some figures, a rigidity which, in course of development, becomes more pronounced, lending to the figures a corpse-like aspect. Here no trace of the baroque nor semblance to anything living can be discerned (Plates XIII and XIV).

Yet the reason for this is clear. These figures were erected for dead kings after their *śrāddha*; they had come in place of, and were a reversion to, the ancient indigenous ancestor figures, being merely an improved, Hinduized edition of them. Thus, in course of time the Balinese had gradually returned to representations of dead bodies after a period in which images of living gods, of whom the kings were supposed to have been incarnations, had served for the purpose of veneration. No wonder, therefore, that the limbs of the figures, still freely placed in the Hindu-Balinese period, though even then bound by traditional prescriptions, gradually stiffen and come close to the body, as in case of the dead lying in state. No wonder either that the dress binds the body ever tighter, like the winding-sheet wrapped about the corpse.

This being the case, we may not regard these figures, belonging to the cult of dead kings, as a norm for Balinese art of those days; and, moreover, considering that almost everything that has come down to us pertained to this cult, we can hardly form an opinion of Old-Balinese everyday art. We incline to believe, however, that pieces like the earlier-mentioned baroque spout (Plate XVIII) and the holy-water vessel of Pedjeng (Plate XVII) show the true nature of

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Old-Balinese art; it must have been gay, rich, baroque and somewhat overloaded. And if this is true, there is no need to strain our imagination to bridge the wide gap between the mass of stiff, closed mortuary sculptures and the lively, redundant and frolicsome revel in forms of Bali's art of to-day—it becomes unnecessary, as it would link two unequivalent kinds of things. Of the true connecting links between our Nṛsiṃha spout and the sculptures of Bali of our days nothing, unfortunately, has remained. Yet, their relation seems sufficiently clear.

Lastly, it must be mentioned that in a few cases I found evidence of distinct influences from Further India, be it Cambodia or Annam (Champā). This is not surprising, inasmuch as we know that in Java intermarriages between Further Indian and Indonesian royal houses were not uncommon. And since most figures were images of kings, it is not impossible that those bearing Further Indian features might have been portrait statues of such foreign princes or princesses who were entombed following their own customs, and whose figures were, perhaps, made by artists from their own land. But that such isolated cases should have had any lasting influence is hardly probable (Plate IV).

ART CRITICISM.—In conclusion, a few words regarding the appreciation of Balinese antiquities as works of art. When viewing them as such, one must bear in mind, firstly, that they were brought forth by a purely agricultural people, whose kings were hardly raised above the peasant class. Therefore one cannot expect their art to have been particularly refined. To the Javanese the art of Bali in all its phases appears almost offensively robust and crude, and, having regard to the delicate restraint and fine execution of the ancient Javanese creations, one must credit their opinion that Bali's art is primarily a peasant art; but this does not detract from its own high merit of having very expressive national features. Secondly, we must realize that although the Old-Hinduistic art of Bali brought forth in the beginning pieces hardly inferior to the Javanese (*c.* 800 A.D.), its early relapse to more primitive forms (*c.* 900 A.D.) should not be regarded as a sign of

degeneration, as was once assumed in the case of Java, where the re-appearance of indigenous Indonesian style-principles came to the front only centuries later. For one should not decry an art because it does not remain a copy of that foreign art to which it owes its origin; on the contrary, it is in the deviations that we recognize the rise of the proper national elements. If one regards Romanesque art as a degeneration of the classics, one does injustice to the fact that the creators of Romanesque art were not the Romans and not the Greeks. And should one, in estimating Bali's art, apply as standard the old Hindu art of India, one might gain the impression of seeing a very degenerated offspring of the glorious Guptas. But thereby one would commit the same mistake as is made by those who, in their turn, regard the Gupta art as a degeneration of Gandhāra art, and this, again, as a degenerated branch of Greek art. They all fail to recognize the rebirth of the proper and national elements which happens at the beginning of every new art-epoch from the fusion of the imported and old indigenous conceptions. This fusion does not lead to senseless, accidental results, but represents a selection of those elements from the foreign art that can serve as the expression of things already living in the makers, and which can satisfy the requirements of the national soul. The way chosen by the Javanese and the Balinese is a typical example of this selective process; from all that Indian architecture and sculpture in stone had to offer them they adopted only that part which directly fitted their indigenous ancestor cult and could lend to it a new and higher expression. They did not imitate blindly the images of the gods of the Hindus, nor did they build temples thoughtlessly after Indian models; they adapted both temples and images, to their own needs, the cult of the dead.

With this point of view we arrive at a different attitude towards the antiquities of Bali. We see in them the forerunners of the island's contemporary art fertilized by Hinduism, and not degenerated descendants of Hindu figures which, after all, they have never been in reality. And with such a view we shall undoubtedly do them more justice.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to give the reader an introduction to the study of Bali's antiquities and to outline their significance for our knowledge of Balinese culture. To me as a member of the nation assigned by destiny to the task of supervising Bali's contact with the modern world and modern ideas, the people of Bali naturally remain a central interest. But, for the benefit of those readers whose point of departure lies not in Bali but in India, I wish to raise the question: of what significance was Bali to Indian art?

The reply to this may be as short as the rôle of Bali is negligible in this respect. While we can say for Java that once, as centre of the then Buddhist world, it gave to the same and to the rest of the world one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful, Buddhist monument, Barabudur, nothing similar can be said of Bali.

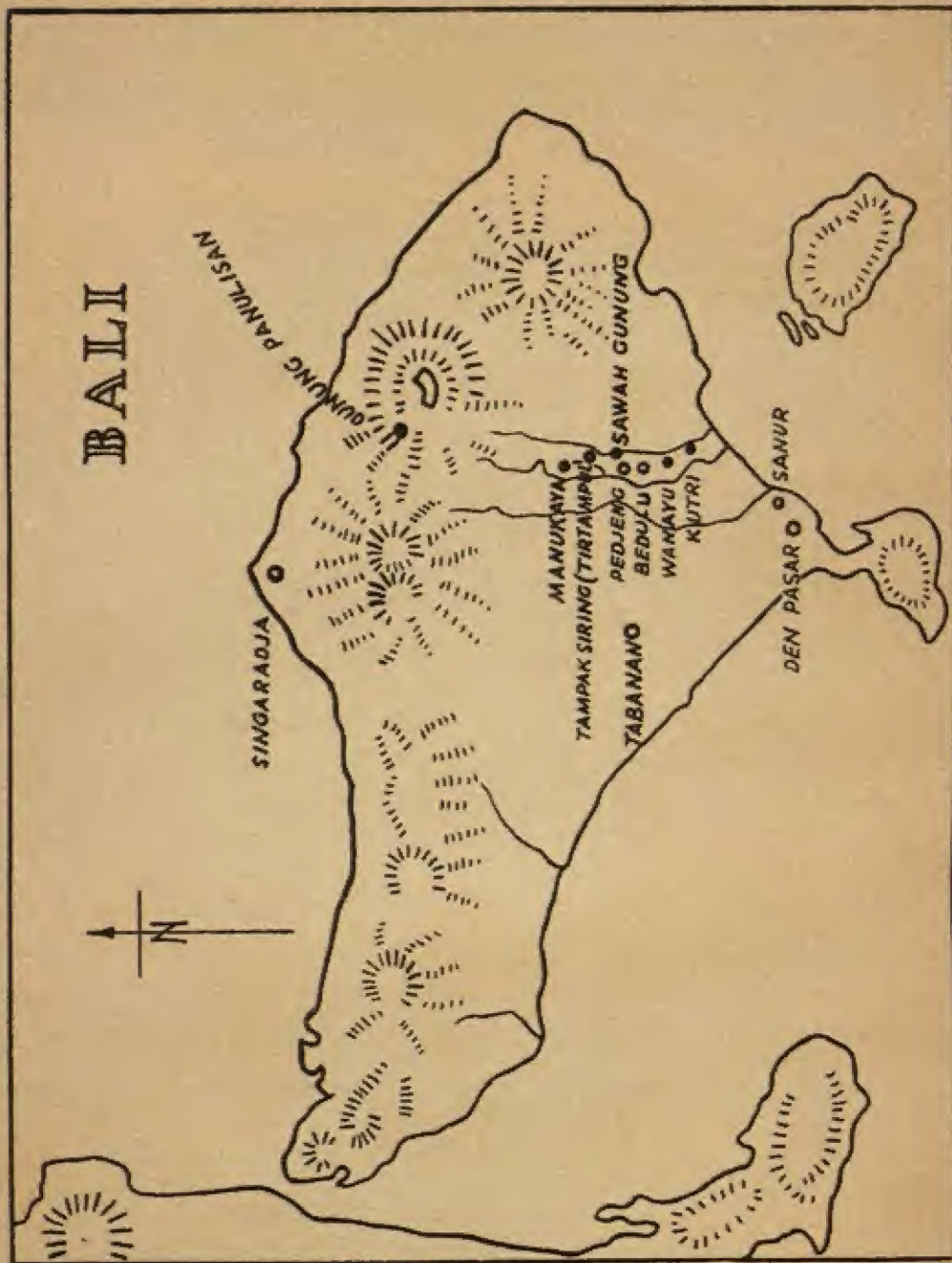
Whatever Bali learned from India has been of the greatest import for its art, and I may also say for its whole culture. It would be difficult to point out anything in Bali to-day that does not show, to a slight degree at least, the effect of Indian ideas; while, on the other hand, there is the preponderant multitude of things wholly imbued by the spirit of Hinduism. Bali has never played the rôle of a disseminator of Indian culture as did its big neighbour, Java, but it has striven whole-heartedly for a synthesis of Hinduism with its indigenous culture; and this it has achieved with great success. Therefore Bali represents a unique and perfect example of what Indian culture could mean to peoples wholly different from the Hindus themselves. Just as in Europe, where the culture of the classics was re-created into a European culture, so, on a small scale, Bali succeeded in creating out of Hinduism a proper, purely national

CONCLUSION

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culture which undoubtedly raised its inhabitants to a higher plane. True, India owes nothing to the little island, but it may regard the present art and culture of Bali with the same satisfaction as a *guru* contemplating with pride the work of his *śishya*, who did not produce a slavish imitation of his master's work, but who applied the acquired knowledge in order to arrive at his own system.

Scale: 13 miles = 1 inch.



ILLUSTRATIONS





PLATE III

SIMHA. PEDJENG.

AS in the case of the preceding piece, this also must have once decorated some structure of the Hindu-Balinese period. The posture of the animal, resting on its four legs, points to the period of the Barabudur, where similar lions serve as guardians at portals of various terraces. The manner in which the mane is stylized into a double fringed round collar seems to point to that time, as a similar treatment of a lion's mane occurs also on the reliefs of the Barabudur. In any case this piece belongs to a time preceding the Old-Balinese period.

Since several Buddha-images as well as fragments of *stūpas* were found in Pedjeng, it is possible that this lion once served as guardian of such a *stūpa*.

Height 78 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE III

PLATE V

SEATED FIGURE. SAWAH GUNUNG.

THIS unfinished image (the ornaments of waist-bands and *udara-bandha* are missing) may have represented either a male or a female deity, perhaps a four-armed Tārā. Of the attributes only a part of the *akṣamaḍā*, formerly held in the right front hand, is still visible at the right knee; the other attributes are broken off with the hands. The Balinese character is evident in this figure to a much higher degree than in the figure of Plate I, e.g., in the execution of the ornaments, the more squarely shaped head, whose expression, judging by the preserved part, must have been excellent. The direction of the left forearm cannot be determined, but most probably it also extended towards the knee.

Height 78 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE V

PLATE VI

DOUBLE IMAGE OF SEATED KING AND QUEEN.
GUNUNG PANULISAN.
OLD-BALINESE PERIOD.

THE queen, seated in the fashion of women, is close to the king on his left; the latter is seated in the manner customary for men. Both wear the broad priestly band which seems to indicate that they belonged to a Brāhman family. Their hands are held in *mudrā* pose indicating the deliverance of the soul, regularly met with in post-mortem figures of kings. This double image must belong to the same category. This is a good example of the series of royal images that started in the Old-Balinese period and continued throughout the Middle-Balinese period. The preserved part of the queen's face shows more individual features than is usual with Indian images of gods, so it is evidently more of a portrait.

Volcanic tuff.

PLATE VII

DOUBLE IMAGE OF STANDING KING AND QUEEN.
GUNUNG PANULISAN.
A.D. 1011. OLD-BALINESE PERIOD.

STILL more pronounced than in the preceding group appear here the individual features of the personages represented. It is clearly perceivable that the sculptor (called, according to the inscription at the back, "the Stutterer") wished to lay stress on the special, ritual meaning of the figures—hence the disproportionately large hands holding the ritual object, the dimensions of which even caused a displacement of the queen's breasts. This object is presumably the *pushpaliṅga*, the *liṅga* made of flowers, which was employed at the *śrāddha* ceremony as temporary receptacle of the soul of the deceased prior to its conveyance to heaven by the officiating priest. In the inscription at the back is mentioned the name of the priest who seems to have performed the deliverance ceremony, and who was also the maker of the figure.

Volcanic tuff.

PLATE VI



PLATE VII



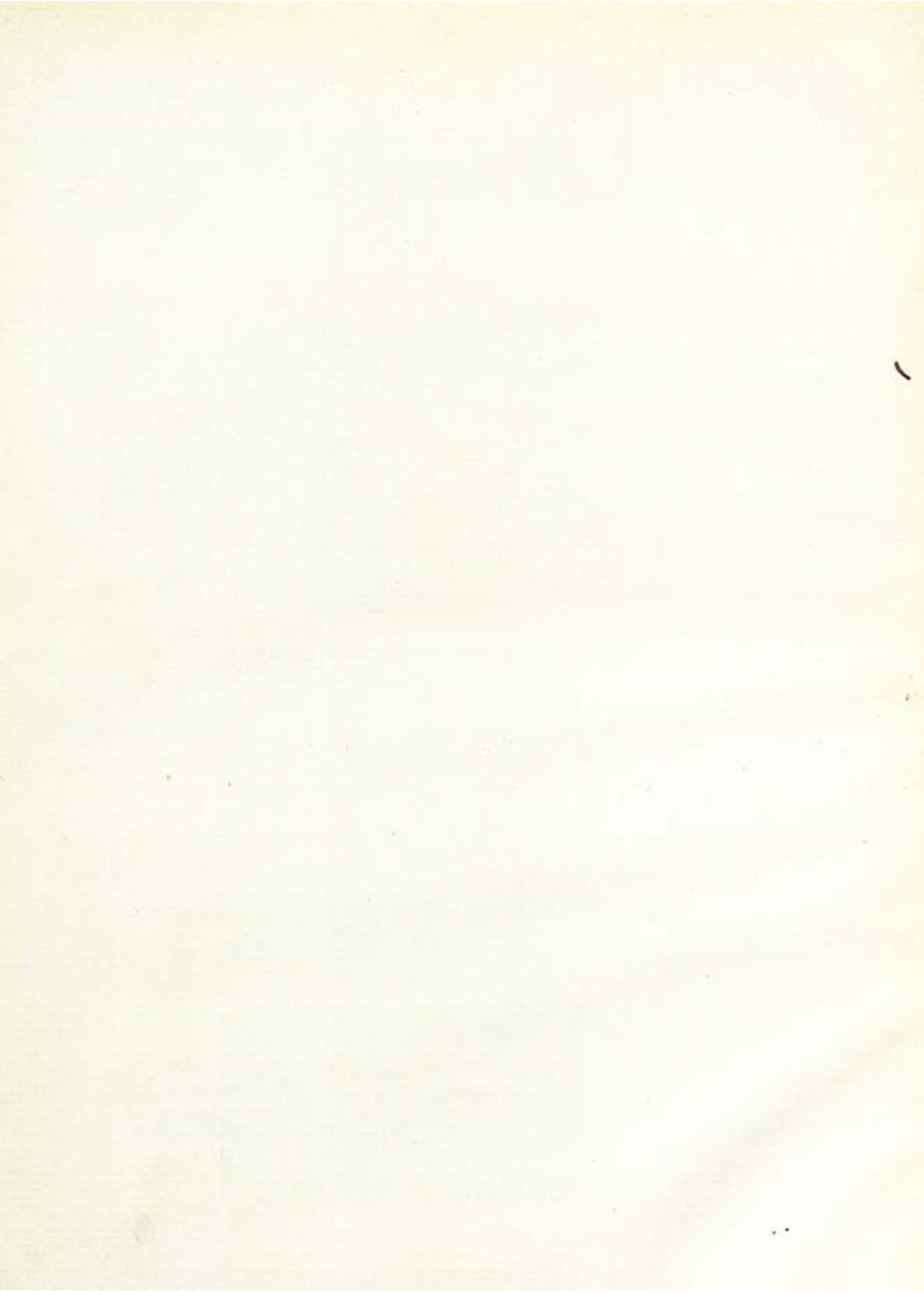


PLATE VIII

SPOUT IN THE SHAPE OF A FEMALE FIGURE. GOA
GADJAH NEAR BĒDULU.

OLD-BALINESE PERIOD (10TH-13TH CENTURY).

A NUMBER of similar figures, male and female in shape, in one case representing a Gaṇeśa, once served as spouts at the holy watering-place of the cave-hermitage near BĒdulu. Their exact former positions cannot now be traced. In the style of the figure, and especially in its facial expression, Javanese influences are obvious. This agrees with the approximate dating of the piece to the times of Erlangga (c. A.D. 1000). Since his mother was a Javanese princess, it is to be expected that during her time Javanese influences operated with renewed force in Bali.

Volcanic tuff.



PLATE VIII

PLATE IX

GROUP OF HĀRITĪ WITH HER CHILDREN. AT THE
CAVE-HERMITAGE NEAR BĒDULU.

ABOUT A.D. 1000. OLD-BALINESE PERIOD.

THE *yakshi* Hāritī, according to legends converted to Buddhism by the Buddha himself, became a popular figure in Bali. Yet representations depicting her with her children (whom she used to devour prior to her conversion) are comparatively rare among its antiquities. Her demonic origin may be recognized here by the small fangs protruding over the lower lip; her children, too, seem to behave in a clamorous manner. On her lap she holds the youngest, Piṅgala, whom she was just on the point of devouring when converted by the Buddha.

Hāritī and her spouse have been fully adopted into Javanese and Balinese folklore under the name of Men and Pan Brayut. They play the rôle of poor parents caring for numberless children. Every trace of their Buddhist legendary origin is gone.

Volcanic tuff.



PLATE IX

PLATE X

IMAGE OF A KING. KUTRI.

THE DATE IS UNCERTAIN. PROBABLY OLD-BALINESE
PERIOD (10TH-13TH CENTURY).

THIS specimen is a good example of the effects on sculpture produced by the cult of the dead. The whole figure shows considerably greater stiffness and is more cramped in form than the earlier figures. The ornament deviates from the customary form, and is in some places strongly exaggerated. Very pronounced individual features.

Height 94 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE X

PLATE XI

CHATUḤKĀYA OF THE TRIMŪRTI. PEDJENG.

MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD (13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES).

THE three gods, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, are indicated respectively by the book, the third eye and the conch. The front hands are folded in *añjali* attitude. This figure is perhaps also not an image of the deities, but possibly one of a king who regarded himself as an incarnation of the Trimūrti. In favour of this latter view is the very typical headdress consisting of a crown composed of rows of stylized lotus-petals, which might have been derived from a headdress in lotus form, indicating the king's deliverance. Among the Balinese this figure is known at present under the name *Tjaturmuka*, on account of the four heads, and is regarded by them as a representation of Brahmā. The complete figure was originally composed of three parts, of which the undermost is lost.

Height 116 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XI

PLATE XII

SEATED FIGURE OF A KING; A ŚRĀDDHA IMAGE.

KUTRI.

MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD (13TH-14TH CENTURY.)

THE strong leaning to the baroque, which marks Bali's art of the Middle-Balinese period, is eloquently exemplified by this figure. The ear-ornaments, originally small leaflike decorations behind the ear, have grown here into gigantic vegetation; the slips of the dress form large cloudlike motifs joining the figure to the back piece; also the ornaments of the armlets and ear-pendants are exaggerated and rendered in proportions probably never known in reality. (Compare this with the simplicity of the figure on Plate I.) The king represented holds his hands in a *mudrā* which is almost identical with the attitude assumed by the Balinese to-day in the presence of a high-stationed person; here it is addressed to a deity. This is the only instance in Bali where a figure is depicted in this particular Balinese *añjali* attitude.

Height 70 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XII

PLATE XIII

STATUE OF A PRINCESS. PEDJENG.

A.D. 1342. END OF THE MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD.

IN A.D. 1343 the Balinese royal dynasty was annihilated by the Javanese, so that this might have been the last royal image of that dynasty. The figure is an almost completely closed mass and illustrates the advanced stage of mortuary sculpture. The facial features are strongly individual. In each hand the figure holds a *śrāddha* symbol. On the back piece, near the head, is a short inscription with a date-in-words: *kṛtta rasa tingal ing wong*=die with four spots, essence, eyes (of) man—i.e., 1264 of the Śaka era. Exaggerated ornaments; on the head a lotus-crown.

Height 107 cm. Volcanic tuff.

PLATE XIV

STATUE OF A PRINCESS. PEDJENG.

A.D. 1342. SIDE VIEW OF THE FIGURE ON THE PRECEDING PLATE.



PLATE XIII



PLATE XIV

PLATE XV

CHATUḤKĀYA. TAMPAK SIRING.

PERIOD UNCERTAIN, BUT UNDOUBTEDLY A PIECE OF
COMPARATIVELY RECENT DATE.

A GOOD example of the consequences of mortuary sculpture, to be compared with Plate XI. The figure is of an almost purely Indonesian primitive conception and corresponds to the Indonesian and Polynesian ancestor figures, here, however, clearly inspired by the Hinduistic *chatuḥkāya*. Lotus- and flower-crown are merely indicated by primitive motifs.

Height 81 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XV

PLATE XVI

SPOUT. FOUND NEAR PEDJENG.

A *RSHI* holds in his hands a small human creature out of whose body formerly issued the water-stream. Hermit's headdress of coiled tresses; neckpiece undecorated (*unfinished?*). Figures of *rshis* as spouts occur quite frequently in the old art of Bali, among them also Arjuna as a hermit. The meaning of this representation, however, is unknown.

Height 95 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XVI

PLATE XVII

HOLY-WATER VESSEL. PEDJENG. MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD.

THE vessel is decorated by representations in relief running around the whole piece. They depict eight *nāgas* carried by gods; each pair of adjoining *nāga*-tails supports a deity seated on a lotus. The background for the whole scene is a mountain washed by the sea. In the clouds are birds and heavenly beings; on the sea-shore fishers and different small scenes. The upper edge of the vessel is ornamented by a lotus-petal motif and bears in a medallion a date-in-picture (*tjandra sengkala*), probably 1251 of the Śaka era = A.D. 1329. The vessel, broken in several places, is held in great sanctity by the population of Pedjeng, where it is kept in one of the temples. The depicted scenes are evidently inspired by the *amṛtamanthana*, the Churning of the Ocean, but deviate considerably from the Indian rendering; perhaps they pertain to the story, found in Old-Balinese and Javanese writings, about the mountain Mandara rolled away from India to Java in order to fasten the island. On the way the gods lost pieces of this mountain, which came down upon the island and were the origin of the mountains of Java.

The profuse decoration, as in this vessel, might have been typical for sculptures, other than mortuary, of the Middle-Balinese period.

Height 75 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XVII

PLATE XVIII

SPOUT DEPICTING THE DEATH OF HIRANYAKAŚIPU
CAUSED BY VIṢṆU (NṚSINHĀVATĀRA). PEDJENG.

PERIOD UNCERTAIN, BUT PROBABLY MIDDLE-BALINESE
(13TH OR 14TH CENTURY).

IN this richly elaborated and ornamented piece the predilection for the baroque, already manifest in Old-Balinese art, finds very clear expression. Viṣṇu-Nṛsiṃha holds the king of demons grasped by his hair, having torn open his belly with his right hand. The whole piece, characterized by strong movement of the broken masses and by superabundant ornamentation, stands in strong contrast with the calm figures of the Hindu-Balinese period.

Height 53 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XVIII

PLATE XIX

ASṬAMUKHALIṄGA. PEDJENG.

TIME OF ORIGIN UNCERTAIN, BUT PROBABLY THE
OLD- OR MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD (10TH-14TH
CENTURY).

FROM a lotus, supported by eight seated Śiva figures, arises a *liṅga* surrounded by eight busts of Śiva, who is recognizable by the skull and crescent in the headdress. The piece originally stood on a *yoni*.

Height 120 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XIX

PLATE XX

CHATUḤKĀYA WITH MASKS. PEDJENG.

PERIOD UNCERTAIN.

THE *chatuḥkāya* is composed of Bhairava-like figures, each with a mask before the face and armed with a sword with a hilt in the shape of a serpent. On the mask, which seems to be a strongly stylized Kāla symbol, one can discern the highly conventionalized forms of one eye, three teeth and two ears. The figures are all in *ālīḍha* attitude. The whole group stands on a round lotus base. It is not improbable that this figure pertained to a deliverance cult in which Bhairava, or even Bhima—both are forms of Śiva—acted as redeemers. In later times the Bhima-form of Śiva was identified with the renowned Pāṇḍava of that name. This cult derived from the *kālachakra* sects, known from India, which played an important rôle also in Buddhism.

Height 37 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XX

PLATE XXI

RĀKSHASA WITH SKULL-BOWL. PEDJENG.
MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD.

THE crown and ornaments of the *rākshasa* are also decorated with skulls. The figure belongs to a larger than life-size statue of a Bhairava standing on a corpse. Evidently *kālachakra* influences, whose after-effects may still be seen in the witch-dances and black magic practised now in Bali, though there is no question of a definite sect of Bhairavas in our times. Yet there are books for instruction in black magic as well as apprentices of this art who hold their gatherings at night on death-fields.

Height 163 cm. Volcanic tuff.

PLATE XXII

MAKARA SPOUT. PEDJENG.
MIDDLE-BALINESE PERIOD.

COMPARE this specimen with the *makara* on Plate II; the strong stylization of this piece then becomes clear. Behind the eye is the ear shaped in the form of a leaf, and behind the latter again the ram's-horn frequently found with the *makaras* of Java and Bali. To the right is the opened mouth; the upturned end of the trunk is broken off.

Height 45 cm. Volcanic tuff.



PLATE XXI



PLATE XXII

PLATE XXIII

DESIGN OF AN ENGRAVED ORNAMENT ON A STONE
IN A HERMITAGE NEAR PEDJENG, REPRESENTING
A METAL WATER JUG OF A HERMIT.

EXAMPLE OF METAL WORK OF THE OLD-BALINESE
PERIOD (11TH CENTURY).

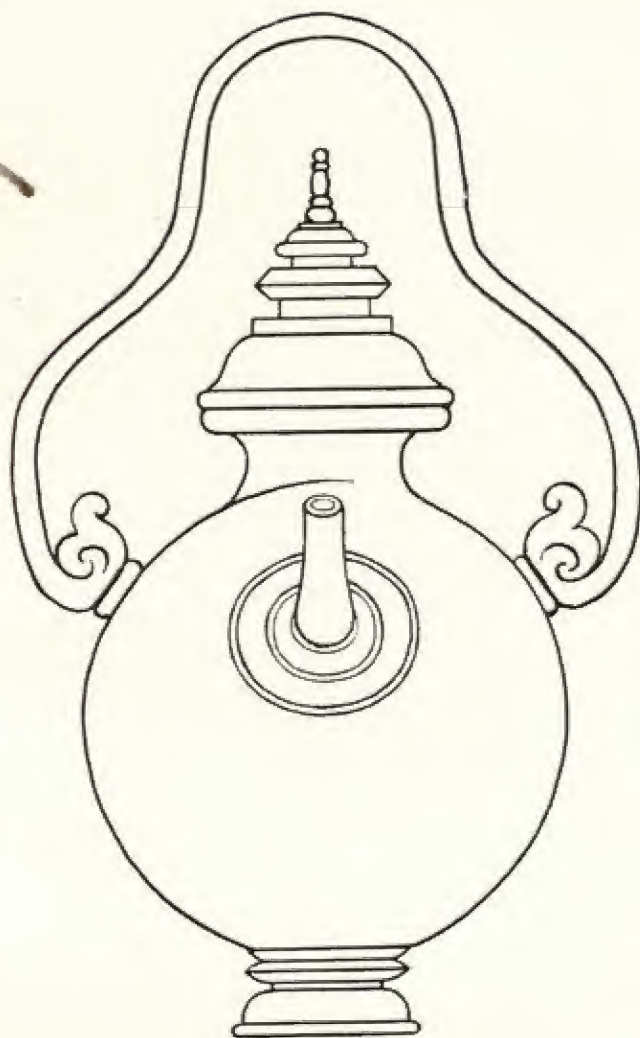


PLATE XXIII

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